

The discipline of politics

Hugh Tinker

KARJI DESAI :
Story of My Life
 Volume 1 : 285pp.
 Volume 2 : 366pp.
 Millan. £6.95 each.

There have been giants in Indian historiography writing. The *Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* is a very left account of the experience of being a colonial subject, exposed to alien influences which he resented but cannot be rejected. As he recorded, "I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place anywhere, at home nowhere." The memoirs which Mahatma Gandhi produced, in *Instants*, and *The Story of My Experiments With Truth*, are of more monumental significance. They take us intimate with the most

Gna because, he declared, "the moral respect which India commanded was destroyed" thereby. He resisted the ascendancy of Krishna Menon over Nehru, and eventually insisted upon his departure from the Cabinet. In turn, Nehru contrived the departure of Morarji by the device of "voluntary" resignations under the

From 1952 to 1956 he was Chief Minister of Bombay. In the late 1950s, pressures developed to split up the existing states along linguistic lines. The central government oscillated between two solutions: the continuance of a bi-lingual "greater Bombay" (without Karnataka, Gujarat and Maharashtra, which were then existing states) or, after much agitation, the state was divided in two, with Bombay City going to Maharashtra. Morarji Desai was credited (or debilitated) with stubborn opposition to the latter solution. He allegedly made "a scapegoat" of placing himself in a false position in the eyes of the Maharashtrais. He blamed the middle upon the vaccinations of Jawaharlal Nehru, as the explanation for the evidence of a documented mount and crest, as the explanation

Kumaraj plan. Before Morarji resigned he told Nehru what his deviousness was damaging the Cabinet's effectiveness. His final verdict on Nehru is revealing: "His thinking was more British, but his heart was Indian, and this contradiction sometimes came in the way of his taking clear-cut decisions in some matters. This is why he did not succeed in forging real nationalism in the country."

led to chaos. In the analysis made by Moraji he seemed to be succumbing to "the psychology of suicide created by a condition of all-pervading darkness and suffocation". Gandhi did not change course, and subsequent events fully confirmed Moraji's analysis. The "Quit India" campaign degenerated into mob violence. Nevertheless, accepting the discipline of the Congress, Moraji went along with his comrades, ending up in jail together with those who had renounced their belief in *satyagraha*. He correctly prophesied to his jail-companions that the "communist" popular in this movement would be increasingly used in our politics."

Meanwhile, Morarji had entered the central government, first as Minister for Commerce and Industry and then as Finance Minister. Now he became the second man in the Cabinet, next to Nehru. Morarji was proud, admiring and envious of the Prime Minister. He observed how Nehru employed artificial outbursts of anger to subdue critics. Yet, when rebuked, Nehru frankly admitted that this excess came from being pampered youth: for Nehru possessed "damned intellectual humility". Then remains a lot of criticism in the country, and revulsion and worse dates. When Jaiin Forster Dull called Nehru was so forced by

It was not surprising that Morarji opposed the nomination of Nehru's daughter, Indira, for the premiership. In her early days she tried to ignore him, but after the near-disaster of the 1967 general election she was compelled to bring him into the Cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister. They differed from the start; he, direct and blunt, she, subtle and evasive. Gradually, the Congress parliamentary party split apart. Subsequent events—the Emergency, and the triumphant victory of Morarji Desai and the Janata Party in the 1977 election—occurred in the interim. Now the work was completed. How far would he wish to make revisions to adjust to these latest developments?

He turned his back upon the British Raj and was soon experiencing the rigours of a British prison. Yet his official training remained an essential part of his outlook. As he comments: "My work as a magistrate thus gave me very good training in being careful not to take decisions on the basis of preconceived notions." While in jail he was scrupulously strict in carrying out all prison regulations.

With the return to constitutional activities after the war, Morarji again became a Minister in the Bombay government. Now it was possible to begin to apply his aus-

Morarji opposed Nehru's policy in important respects. He resisted military intervention by India

In a dialogue with Vinoba Bhave we hear Morarji arguing vigorously against coalitions, in defence of purely Congress government. Perhaps this would seem different now, but when we recall that in 1959, in contest for the Presidency of India—when Morarji himself argued that it would be good to choose a Harijan (ex-Untouchable) candidate—we find that he rejected the candidacy of Jagjivan Ram, leading Congress leader, on the ground that Jagjivan Ram had not filed an income tax return for ten years and was evading payment of the wealth tax. We may deduce that Morarji would not now wish to defend this passage in his autobiography. But we must note that Jagjivan Ram was the Junna Party's most valuable ally in 1977.

I. A. Richards

*Of old the solitary hedge-shot told
Of not much more than a hare and its aim;
Later, the bomb was cast, and the claim
From the murder to responsibility and the shame;
Not long ago, with the napalm bomb, came
The couldn't-be-worse, we thought. We did not know,
As yet, how far the human fiend could go;
The Lebanon exhibits . . . the Ethiopian game.
How long before they all will do the same?
Why aren't the terrorist his own heart ask
What holds him subject to his awesome task?
It isn't common fear, but a pride grown so bold,
A flame so fierce that his own spirit's cowed,
Can't tell itself of what Man should be proud.*

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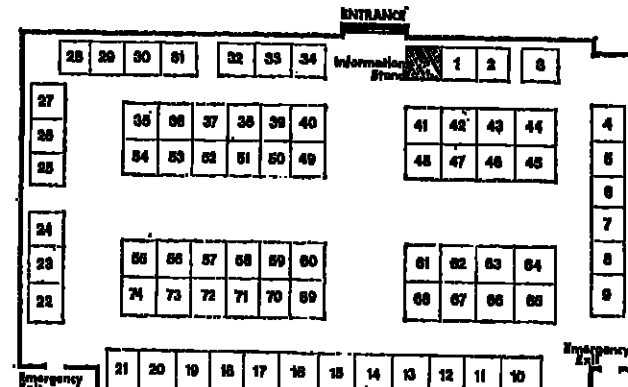
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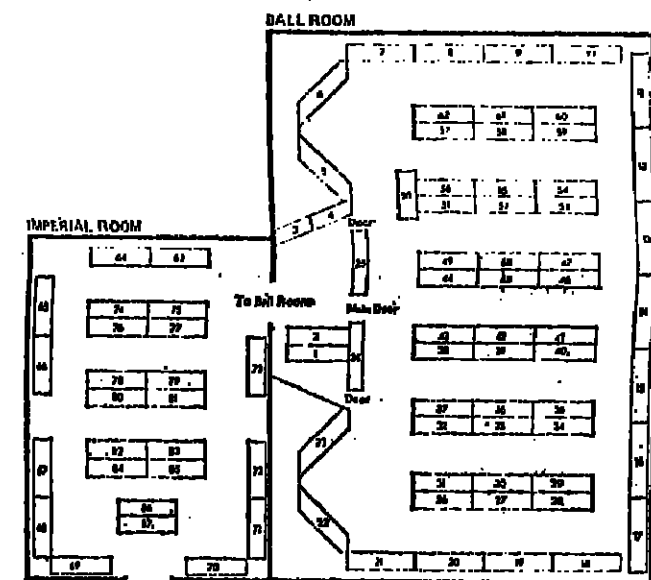
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